REPORT TO THE MINISTER OF LABOUR BY THE ONTARIO PAY EQUITY COMMISSION

RESEARCH REPORT I

THE PAY EQUITY COMMISSION

Ontario

PAY EQUITY IN PREDOMINANTLY FEMALE ESTABLISHMENTS: CHILDCARE SECTOR

PREPARED FOR THE
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THE VIEWS EXPRESSED HEREIN ARE THOSE OF THE AUTHOR AND DO NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT THOSE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO

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INTRODUCTION

Childcare policy has secured a legitimate position on the Canadian political agenda. Political parties, vying for the right to govern, will no doubt embrace childcare as the "apple pie" issue to sway populace favour at the polls in the recently called federal election. Advocacy organizations and the mass media have played an important role in keeping the critical need for childcare services at the forefront of the political debate. Between July 1 and September 2, 1988, the childcare issue was reported in the Toronto Star nineteen times.

Federal and Provincial funding initiatives to satisfy an increased demand for childcare have raised community expectations, resulting in a wider spread of provincial subsidy allocations in Ontario. Metro Toronto, a national leader in the provision of quality childcare, is experiencing the fiscal impact of this expanded demand. Some childcare advocates believe that the sector is currently experiencing the biggest crises in Canadian history.

A critical element in the ability to provide quality childcare is grounded in childcare workers' salaries. In this labour intensive sector, childcare workers' salaries

represent 70%-90% of an auspices' budget. Difficult decisions must be made about whether funds are applied to salaries to bring them up to equitable levels or to the provision of more spaces.

This paper will describe the characteristics of the childcare sector in Ontario; the factors that impact on childcare workers' wages and will explore alternatives and options to address pay equity within the sector and between other sectors of the economy.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SECTOR

History (1)

Childcare has existed in Ontario since the early 1900's. Initially it was run by voluntary associations who relied on charitable donations to establish a revenue base. Government intervention was initiated in 1942 in response to a need for women to work outside the home to aid the war effort. At this time, an Order In Council was drafted authorizing the Federal government to enter into cost sharing agreements with the provinces to provide childcare services.

At the end of the war funding for childcare was withdrawn, however public pressure resulted in some provincially sponsored childcare centres remaining in operation.

The Day Nurseries Act outlining provisions for childcare standards was passed in Ontario in 1946. The Ministry of Community and Social Services administers the Act, the legislative body of daycare licencing, through the Family Services Maintenance division.

In 1966 a social Assistance Childcare policy was established. The federal government introduced the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) to "authorize contributions by Canada towards the cost of programs for...assistance and welfare services to...persons in need." (2)

The concept of childcare as welfare assistance rather than as a public service is believed by some to have resulted in a childcare system in which only the affluent or the poor can participate. An estimated 85% of the Canadian population must seek childcare services in the informal unlicenced market where quality standards are nearly impossible to monitor. (3) Conversely, Scandinavian and European countries have adopted childcare policies that reflect a commitment to equality and to the social, cultural and educational growth of children. Canadian childcare

advocates argue for a childcare policy that represents a universal public service.

A steady growth in women's labour force participation since 1950 represents the most important phenomenon of our time that has implications for virtually all aspects of labour economies. (4) By 1986 women's labour force participation rate grew by 47%. According to a Statistics Canada Profile on women's labour market experience, 67% of women working outside the home spent the entire year in the paid labour force, whereas 77% of their male counterparts participated in the labour force for the entire year. (5)

The increase of women's labour force participation rate, the demise of the nuclear family (by 1981 only 16% of the Canadian population comprised a two parent, two children single income family); changing female labour market behaviour; the economic necessity of the two-income family and a concept of a women's right to socio-economic equality, created a critical demand for childcare services.

In 1982 the Canadian childcare community met for the first time in ten years in Winnipeg. Organized by Health and Welfare Canada, 750 participants representing 10 provinces and 2 territories endorsed universally accessible, publicly funded, non-profit, comprehensive daycare as a solution to

the growing childcare crises. (6)

In response to the childcare needs that were identified in the 1982 conference, the government of the day commissioned a Task Force on Childcare headed by Katie Cooke, a well respected sociologist in the women's community. A federal general election followed shortly afterwards in which childcare occupied a prominent position on the agenda of all three political parties.

In the Fall of 1984 the Progressive Conservative Party won a landslide victory. The new government decided to allow the Cooke Task Force to continue its work but halted further regional consultations. Rather, the majority government established a parliamentary committee in November, 1985, to conduct hearings and examine the federal government's role in childcare given the shared responsibility for childcare among parents, the private sector, the voluntary sector and government.

In the Spring of 1986, the Cooke Task Force on Child Care reported its findings to the Minister responsible for women's issues. A wealth of new research resulted from the work of the Task Force detailing universal accessibility, affordability, parent involvement and government responsibility. For the first, time a comprehensive study

into childcare workers' salaries was undertaken. The Patti Schom-Moffatt research revealed that childcare workers were well educated yet were among the lowest paid labour force participants in Canada. (7)

A year later, in December, 1987, the federal government unveiled its National Day Care Strategy. The legislation is currently being debated in the House of Commons. Critics of the Bill say the plan is inadequate because it doesn't meet the existing demand for one million spaces, fails to impose national standards and fields federal subsidies to money making facilities of substandard quality. (8)

It appears certain at this point that the childcare issue will join free trade and constitutional amendments on the political agenda of the newly called federal general election. As Canadians determine their legal and economic future, so they may be asked to consider the future of their children and the implementation and philosophical approach to Canada'a newest social policy; childcare.

The Ontario government stated its commitment to building a comprehensive childcare system in <u>New Directions for Childcare</u>, June, 1987, to meet the needs of all citizens; a system that would move childcare from a welfare connotation toward one of a public service. The Ministry

of Community and Social Services, working in three-year planning cycles is providing overall leadership, funding, direction and co-ordination in the development of a new integrated network of child care services. (9) Recognizing that childcare staff contribute significantly to the quality of care yet receive dismally low salaries, few benefits and experience poor working conditions, the provincial government made a further commitment to raising salaries by establishing a program of direct operating grants.

Types of Service

Childcare in Ontario is legislated under the Day Nurseries Act through the family service and Income Maintenance Division of the Ministry of Community and Social services. Licenses are issued to day nurseries and to private home daycare agencies based on provincial standards. (10)

There are two basics operator types of provincially regulated childcare services offered in Ontario. They are centre-based childcare and private home daycare (PHDC). Because the characteristics of each operator type are distinctly different, the provision of childcare services in the province can best be described by separating the operator types. Each of the operator types can be further divided into three major auspices; non-profit childcare, for-profit or commercial childcare and municipal childcare.

Municipally operated childcare service is defined as non-profit operations, however because it represents 10% of all spaces provided; is fully unionized and part of an establishment where comparators can be found it warrants singular attention for the purposes of this study. Where the data are available, municipal daycare will be addressed separately.

Definition of Operator Types and Auspices

Centre-based daycare is provincially licenced group childcare operating outside the home. Centres are comprised of teachers, assistants, cook and supervisor and usually employ less than ten persons, although there can be more. Staff care for infants, toddlers, preschoolers and school aged children in compliance with the centre's licencing regulations and conditions set out in the Day Nurseries Act. Centre-based childcare can be operated as a non-profit, commercial or municipal service.

Private home day care (PHDC) is childcare that is offered in a home setting. All PHDC's in Ontario are affiliated with an agency that is licenced by the government to recruit and supervise home care. Providers in home care services are viewed as self-employed and generally there is only one provider or caregiver per house caring for no more than five children under the age of ten. Many of the characteristics

of this sub-sector differ from the centre based programs and will be addressed separately in this report. Like centre-based childcare, PHDC can be operated as a non-profit, commercial or municipal service.

Non-profit centres are licenced daycare centres established as non-profit organizations, generally governed by a parent or community board of directors.

Commercial centres are licenced daycare centres set up as proprietary operations.

Municipal centres are those centres owned and operated by the municipal government.

Generic Terms

The author prefers the term **childcare** to **daycare**, however the latter term is used interchangeably throughout the report, particularly when quoting other authors. Teachers in centre-based childcare are referred to as either childcare workers or daycare workers. The terms, teachers, assistants, supervisors or cooks are used when it is necessary to draw attention to duties or qualifications specific to individual classifications. Persons offering family home care are referred to as providers or caregivers.

SIØE

The Ministry of Community and Social Services stated its commitment to the development of a comprehensive integrated network of childcare services in June, 1987. The introduction of Direct Operating Grants for licenced childcare programs is one of a series of Ministry initiatives created in response to this commitment. (11) The priority commitment for the 1988/89 fiscal year is to upgrade childcare workers salaries. The Child Care branch of the Ministry is currently developing a data base of information on the childcare sector in Ontario to determine the impact of direct grants on childcare workers salaries and to identify a benchmark salary scale.

According to the available information from the Phase I survey, there were 2481 licenced programs in Ontario in September, 1988, providing a total of 96,115 spaces. (Appendix I, II, and III)

The data indicates that 67% of licenced programs are in the non-profit sub-sector and 33% of programs exists in the Commercial sub-sector. Availability of childcare services varies significantly from region to region. In descending order, central Ontario provides 48% of all childcare programs in Ontario; 28% is provided in southwestern

Ontario; 18% in southeastern Ontario and a mere 6% in Northern Ontario. The direct operating grant program is not currently set up to group data into rural and urban centres, however it appears that this could be possible by using a program that sorts geographical locations by postal code. (Appendix II).

For profit operators are less involved in school aged and Private home day care (PHDC) programs. Although commercial operators hold 41% of the market share of spaces provided for children five years old and under, they hold only 19% and 10% respectively for school aged and PHDC programs.

MARKET SHARE OF SPACES (12)

Centre based--Preschool		Centre based--School Age
Non Profit	49%	73%
Municipal	10%	8%
Commercial	41%	19%

Total Centre		Total PHDC
Non Profit	52%	56%
Municipal	10%	34%
Commercial	38%	10%

Total Market Share of all Spaces (13)

Non Profit	52%
Municipal	12%
Commercial	36%

The total number of childcare workers in the sector is 17,443, representing 15,028 full-time and 2,415 part time employees.

EMPLOYEES IN THE SECTOR (14)

Auspice	Full-time	Part-time
Non-Profit	4,758	1,512
Municipal	1,193	132
Commercial	4,224	742
PHDC Providers	4,742	
PHDC Home Visitors	111	29
TOTAL:	**15,028**	**2,415**

Most operators employ less than ten employees. The data indicates that 88% of all programs in Ontario employ less than tem employees and 97.8% employ less than 15.

SIZE RANGE (15)

Centres	2,117	231	44	10
Employees	<10	10-15	16-25	26-37
% Employed	88.2%	9.6%	1.8%	.4%

Non-Profit Centre Based

There are 1,416 non-profit centre based programs in Ontario, providing 45,073 licenced spaces. This figure represents 52% of the market share of total spaces available in this sub-sector.

Non-profit operators employ 4758 full time and 1,512 part time childcare workers representing 36% of all employees in the childcare sector. Eighty-eight percent of childcare workers are employed in centres with less than 10 staff.

Municipal Centre Based

There are 184 municipally operated childcare centres in Ontario providing spaces for 7,660 children under five years old and 921 school age children. Municipally operated childcare represents 10% of the total childcare services provided in centre based programs.

Municipal centre based programs employ 1,193 full time and 132 part time childcare workers representing 8% of total

employment. Programs in this auspice tend to be smaller than other centre based, non-profit operators--97% of municipal programs employ less than 10 people. (16)

Commercial Centre Based

Commercial centres have 802 programs in Ontario. For profit centres provide 31,254 preschool and 2,194 school age spaces representing 36% of the market share of total spaces available. The preschool centres tend to be larger than non-profit centres. Non-profit operators have 67% of all licenced centre based programs while the commercial sector has 33% yet the Commercial sector provides 41% of preschool spaces while the non-profit centre based preschool programs represent 49% of all preschool spaces.

Commercial operators employ 4,224 full time and 742 part time childcare workers, representing 28% of the centre based labour force.

Provincial regulations stipulate that at least one person for each group must have a diploma in Early Childhood Education (ECE) or equivalent academic qualifications. Early Childhood Education is a two year college diploma program. It teaches methods which facilitate the physical, motor, language, social, emotional and cognitive development of preschool children. (17)

Ontario also has separate qualification requirements for directors or supervisors and sets maximum child:staff ratios.

Private Home Day Care (PHDC)

Non-profit private home day care offers an alternative for parents who prefer smaller group home based care for their children. There are 4,742 homes licenced through agencies providing care for 9,013 children. The non-profit auspice provides 5,064 spaces in 2,588 homes; municipal 3,092 spaces in 1,865 homes and commercial operators provide 857 spaces in 289 homes. (Appendix I)

Assuming that there is one caregiver per family home, 4,742 full time PHDC providers and 111 full time home visitors work in the sub-sector. There are an additional 29 home visitors working part time.

Providers are seen as self-employed and are supervised by agency home visitors who ensure licencing regulations in family homes are adhered to. All PHDC's in Ontario are affiliated with an agency. The agency is licenced by the province and is responsible for recruiting the providers, offers orientation, training and supervision and matches parents and children. In return for administrative services the agency receives a fee of approximately 25% of the total

fees paid for care, the remaining 75% goes to the provider. In Ontario, the PHDC provider child ratio is a maximum of 1:5.

The Patti Schom Moffatt research revealed that women comprised 98% of family childcare providers.

UNIONIZATION

General

The childcare sector in Ontario has a low rate of unionization. Unionized childcare operators are affiliated with 3 unions; the Service Employees International Union (SEIU); the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU); and the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE). All municipalities in Ontario have been organized. Research conducted for the Katie Cooke Task Force on Child Care found unionization to be one of the factors that contributed positively to wage levels. A major organizing drive in Ottawa several years ago resulted in a dramatic improvement in salaries and benefits. As a result, unionized daycare workers employed by the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton earned 30 to 50% more than non-unionized daycare workers in community centres. (19)

The Schom-Moffatt research found that unionized staff earn 30% more than their non-unionized counterparts and received better benefits. (20) The rate of unionization, however is low. In the Hamilton Wentworth study, 87% of respondents indicated that their program was not unionized. (21) A major obstacle to unionization appears to be the lack of financial resources. The childcare sector is a labour intensive service sector where salaries are tied 70% to 90% to budget. (22) Parent fees provide the major source of revenue. If salaries are raised, parent fees are directly affected and must simultaneously rise to accommodate salary increases. In a sector where licenced quality childcare is already out of reach for approximately 80% of working parents, raising fees further contributes to inaccessible, low quality childcare, broadening the gap between poor and affluent users.

Non-profit Centre Based

CUPE has organized 19 municipal and three non-profit centres and OPSEU has 3 centres and one PHDC. It would appear from conversations with union representatives that non-profit employees who are unionized tend to be those operated by a municipality or affiliated with a college. In Ontario all municipal childcare services are unionized.

Commercial Centre Based

Few Commercial Centres are unionized. CUPE has organized two centres, OPSEU, six mini-skools and SEIU has three mini-skools. One representative felt that more mini-skools were not unionizing because non-unionized centres in chain operations receive the negotiated rate eventually, albeit four to six months later. Increased demand for childcare staff appeared to be another inhibiting factor to the low level of unionization according to one union representative. It was felt that job security as a result of an increased demand for workers and the ensuing limited supply decreased the need to unionize. It was also the opinion of this particular representative that childcare workers salaries were merely second incomes supplementing husbands' earnings and thus the need to organize for higher salaries is minimized. (23) In view of the fact that the Schom-Moffatt research found that nearly one third of the workers sampled provided half the family income and another third provided the total family income. (24) The secondary importance attributed to women's income by the union representative is alarming. There would appear to be a need for the education of persons negotiating on behalf of women to ensure equitable bargaining.

Another union representative felt that, although it is common knowledge that a sufficient revenue base that would

have a significant impact on negotiated wages does not exist, childcare workers are organizing for job security and protection, particularly in the commercial centres. (25)

Private Home Day Care

Family home caregivers are viewed as self-employed and therefore cannot unionize. One group of providers affiliated with the Macaulay Child Development Centre organized two years ago in an attempt to be deemed employees of the agency. They won their case and recently received their first negotiated contract. This historic case involves 130 home providers organized by OPSEU and represents a precedent setting case for other PHDC providers wishing an employee/employer relationship with their agency.

Research for the Katie Cooke Task Force indicated that unionized centres earn 30% more than non-unionized employees and receive better benefits. Unions are addressing the issue of childcare and should the sector be included in the pay equity legislation, unions and employers will then be obligated to negotiate a pay equity plan. Some novel approaches to childcare benefits include workplace daycare and negotiated dollar amounts paid directly to parent employees to off set childcare fees. The latter is difficult to negotiate. A traditional management attitude

is that because not all employees have children, childcare payments to parents does not benefit all employees and, therefore, becomes an inhibiting factor to employer direct payments.

FUNDING

The major federal-provincial funding vehicle for childcare programs is the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). It provides for federal cost-sharing of $.50 of every dollar spent on childcare. There is no ceiling placed on the total cost-shared amount and there are no restrictions on whether the service is provided by commercial or non-profit operators. (26)

The CAP is a social assistance plan designed to help alleviate poverty and not a childcare program although provinces can participate in the plan to defray childcare costs for low income families. Eligibility for childcare subsidies is established through a needs test.

The federal government was committed to a new National Child Care Strategy that would provide for the expansion of childcare services in Canada and funding for operational costs. A federal election call on October 1, 1988 killed all pending legislation including a childcare bill that had passed third reading and was awaiting Senate approval. Childcare advocates are relieved that the bill, considered

to be seriously flawed, has died and welcome the opportunity for a full debate on childcare during the election.

Although the government of Ontario has provided some capital and start up funding to new and expanding non-profit childcare programs on a proposal basis, until recently it had no sated commitment to ongoing operational funding.

In June, 1987, the Minister of Community and social Services unveiled its plans to develop and expand a comprehensive affordable childcare system in Ontario through an infusion of start-up capital and on-going operational funding to the childcare sector. A system of direct grants will allow immediate aid to improving childcare workers salaries as a first priority. Working in three year cycles, the Ministry expects to increase funding to the childcare sector by 165 million dollars to 325 million dollars by 1990. (27)

Non-Profit Centre Based

The revenue base of childcare centres is comprised of parent fees and fundraising initiatives. Where spaces are subsidized, the province receives federal cost sharing of 50% of the childcare costs. Participating municipalities administer the needs test and pay 20% of the childcare costs reducing the province's share to 30%. Sixty three Ontario

municipalities provided subsidized childcare in 1987. (28) Subsidy distribution to the non-profit sector is 39.6% of total enrolment. (30)

Commercial Centre Based

Commercial centre based programs do not receive direct subsidies for low income families, however, the municipality can enter into a purchase of service agreement (POS) with commercial operators to provide the needed space.

When drafting New Directions for Child Care in Ontario, the provincial government recognized the high percentage of licenced childcare provided by the commercial sub-sector and although committed to non-profit care, agreed to provide direct operating grants to existing commercial centres to be applied directly to salaries. No new or expanding operations will be awarded direct operating grants. (31)

Subsidy distribution to the private for profit operators constitutes 31.6% of total enrolment.

Municipal

Municipal funding is received in the same manner as outlined in the non-profit section. Subsidy distribution to municipal operators is 27.7% of total enrolment. (32)

Private Home Day Care

PHDC subsidy distribution is filtered through the agency licenced to supervise, train and recruit PHDC providers. The Agency may supply some assistance to providers in terms of toys or art supplies but basically the PHDC revenue base is the sum of parent fees. Of the total parent fees, the provider receives 75%, the remaining 25% goes to the Agency as per diem administrative fees.

Cost of Childcare

A study commissioned by the federal Special Committee on Childcare estimated average childcare costs in Ontario to be $5,419 for an infant in centre based care and $4,135 for a preschooler in 1986. (33)

Where parents fees are subsidized, the three levels of government contribute to the costs. The federal government provides a 50/50 cost sharing allocation under the Canadian Assistance Plan to the province. Participating municipalities pick up 20% of the provincial costs resulting in a 50% federal contribution, 30% provincial and 20% municipal revenue split for low income families in the non-profit sub-sector. (34)

Funds flow from the federal government to the province to the municipality. The province decides on the overall budget and rate of expansion, while the municipalities allocate funds, determine subsidies and the awarding of purchase of service agreements. The Ministry of Community and Social Services reported 1986 to 1989 estimates and actuals for childcare to be $133,928,875 actual in 1986/87; $173,606,874 actual in 1987/88 and $274,988,500 estimated funding for the 1988/89 fiscal year, representing 51% and 37% increases, respectively, over the past two years. (35)

Direct operating grants in the amount of 67 million dollars for the 1988/89 fiscal year have been distributed to non-profit operators and those commercial operators in existence as at November 30, 1987. Any other expansion of commercial programs or spaces after this date will not be eligible for direct operating grants. (36)

Direct Grants Allocations, May 30, 1988

	Region	Allocations $000 '88/89
Non-Profit Centre based including Municipal	Central	$15,390.0
	North	1,839.7
	Southwest	7,590.8
	Southeast	5,229.1
	TOTAL:	**$30,049.9**
Commercial Centre based	Central	7,290.8
	North	190.2
	Southwest	2,841.7
	Southeast	1,142.9
	TOTAL:	**$11,465.6**
Non-profit PHDC	Central	2,321.5
	North	448.0
	Southwest	1,315.7
	Southeast	1,239.5
	TOTAL:	**$5,324.6**
Commercial PHDC	Central	701.5
	North	0
	Southwest	0
	Southeast	105.8
	TOTAL:	**$ 213.2**

The direct operating grants are currently being applied directly to salaries. It is estimated that non-profit centre-based childcare workers will receive approximately $4,000 in raises this year to a maximum of $5,500. Existing commercial centres, however, have received only 50% of this amount due to lack of a federal agreement on public funding of profit oriented centres.

The direct grants operating grants to PHDC providers is

causing some waves in that sub-sector. It is generally felt that grants have not been equitably distributed to the sub-sector comparable to the centre based sub-sector. Negotiations are currently underway with the Child Care branch of the Ministry to address problems specific to PHDC operators.

Grants are being allocated by the Agency either as an increase in per diem charges or as a bonus payment to providers.

Advocacy Groups

Childcare advocates have been joined by other groups with an interest in the sector and other social issues including unions, women's equality rights advocates, educators and religious and professional organizations; keeping the need for affordable, quality and accessible childcare at the forefront of the public policy agenda.

Parents of children requiring childcare, particularly mothers experiencing inadequate services first hand, have played an important role in the crusade for a more appropriate childcare system. Some very important advocacy groups in Ontario that have had a significant impact on childcare policy in this province are the Coalition for Better Daycare, the Equal Pay Coalition, the Association for

Early Childhood Education and the Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association.

Wage Setting Policies

Wages in the childcare sector are dismally low. In 1988 Statistics Canada reported childcare workers salaries in 1986 to be the lowest paid occupation in Canada at $8,867. (37) Childcare workers earned less than housekeepers and laborers.

Traditionally childcare has been perceived to be women's work, where nurturing becomes a natural extension of a woman's biological function. The marginalization of women's work in the childcare sector is proportional to the wage differentials in other occupations identified in the Abella Royal Commission on Report on Employment. Research on wages conducted for the Katie Cooke Task Force found that the average weekly industrial earnings in Ontario were $404.07, whereas, day care workers received only 2.67 or $13,884 per annum. Thus, childcare workers wages in Ontario represented a wage differential of 66% of the average industrial wage. Abella found women's wage to be 64% of men's wages.

Not only is work in the childcare sector undervalued as a result of being viewed as "women's work" our society places a corresponding low value on the nurturing of children.

Forecasters continually warn us of the impact of the largest aging population of our time on social services, particularly health. It is ironic that a Canadian childcare policy has not emerged that invests in a childcare system that enhances the social, cultural, intellectual and political growth of a most valuable human resource.

Review of the childcare sector reveals a Canadian commitment to equality that is both contradictory and hypocritical. Adoption of the United Nations' conventions on equality; First Minister's conferences that place equality issues on the agenda and provincial initiatives to redress gender discrimination appear to be hollow lip service when childcare remains an inadequate, fragmented system, unattainable to most working parents.

The Royal Commission on Employment concluded the relationship between accessible child care and equality as: "child care is the ramp that provides equal access to the work force for mothers." (38)

Morley Gunderson in his submission to the Special Committee on childcare in August, 1986, supported Abella's conclusion. Professor Gunderson espoused that childraising responsibilities are inhibiting factors affecting the earnings and occupational attainment of females. He

concluded that differential childraising responsibilities is a crucial determinant of each and every one of the components that contribute to women's lower earning scales; wage discrimination; occupational segregation; unionization, experience, education and hours worked. (39)

Low wage setting policies in the childcare sector would appear to be the direct result of the marginalization of women's work and the undervaluation of children as a valuable economic and social resource. An attitude that is sustained and reinforced by the lack of societal recognition of the value of the work of a childcare professional; and the lack of a political commitment to a universal social policy that provides quality, accessible and affordable childcare to all families and the equal opportunity to participate in the labour force for women who choose to do so or are forced to participate through economic necessity.

The Informal Market

Provincially regulated childcare in Canada represents approximately 20% of the total care provided. In 1982 Statistics Canada reported that 83% of children in care other than by their parents were in their own home or in another private home. (40)

Informal childcare is the care of a child by someone other than a parent or guardian. The caregiver--also called a babysitter, a nanny, a childcare provider,-- may be a relative, friend, neighbor, acquaintance or someone who was unknown prior to the time that care was arranged. The care may be given on a regular, part-time or occasional basis. Informal childcare is an unregulated, unsupervised, unlicensed private market arrangement, usually conducted in a private home, either the child's or the caregivers, by individuals outside the realm of public guidelines and legislation. (41)

The Status of Women Report used four Canadian studies that examined the informal market for use in determining the characteristics of the informal childcare sector. Two of the studies were conducted in Ontario: 1) Donna S. Lero, Factors Influencing Parents' preferences for and Use of Alternative Child Care Arrangements for Preschool-Age Children, Guelph, Ont., University of Guelph, College of Family and Consumer Studies, 1981 and; 2) Laura Clemenko Johnson Who Cares? A report of the Project Child Care Survey of Parents and their Child Care Arrangements, Toronto Community Day Care Coalition and the social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1977.

The studies found that the informal childcare sector shared

many of the characteristics of the formal childcare sector. Parents chose the informal sector, however, because of its availability, (not enough licenced operators to meet the demand) lower costs (licenced childcare fees are inaccessible to low and middle income families) proximity to home and a preference for smaller group family home setting for their young children.

Informal childcare has a number of disadvantages. Some critics suggest that this type of care does not always offer the stability and security commonly associated with it. On the contrary, children may face several caregiver changes in their early years or months in care. Because informal childcare is an invisible service there is increased potential for abuse of recommended adult child ratios. Unhealthy, unsafe or abusive care may occur and go undetected. (42)

2. OCCUPATIONS AND JOBS IN THE SECTOR

JOB DESCRIPTION

Respondents in to the Schom-Moffat survey identified eight job titles to describe their positions; Aide, Assistant, Teacher, Head Teacher, Assistant Director, Program Director Agency Director and Owner. In Ontario, 10.5% of respondents to the Schom-Moffatt research described themselves as Aides or Assistants, 60.5% as Teachers or Head Teachers and 20.2% as a type of Director, the remaining 8.8% described themselves in an other category.

Due to the difficulty in obtaining job descriptions from childcare workers in all categories, this study will describe the work preformed by an Assistant, a qualified Early Childhood Education Teacher and a Supervisor.

Work performed in the three job classes chosen were taken from a job classifications of a teacher and a supervisor in a unionized childcare centre; a Community College course outline for the ECE diploma and the Day Care Teachers certificate program; a college competency practicum manual; the Manitoba Child Care Association's position analysis and job evaluation report and the Colleges and Universities CATT job evaluation system.

A fully qualified childcare teacher in the sector possesses at the minimum a two year Early Childhood Education diploma from a recognized college or equivalent educational qualifications. Provincial regulations require that at least one fully qualified teacher be assigned to each group of children.

Childcare Teacher

Education
Graduate of an ECE diploma or degree program or equivalent from a recognized college or university.

Skills
Understands psychological, sociological and developmental theories and principles.

Ability to observe, assess and analyze a child's behaviour.

Ability to determine which of many curriculum ideas are appropriate for the children in the group.

Communicates positively and purposefully with children, parents and other adults in the program and the community.

Implements flexible curriculum which will meet the needs of individual children in the group

Ability to provide a physically safe, mentally healthy and intellectually stimulating environment for groups of infants, toddlers, preschoolers and school-aged children.

Knowledge of regulations governing licenced childcare operators.

Ability to evaluate the effectiveness of intervention and to modify plans accordingly.

Ability to relate and interpret results of the program to parents.

Ability to recognize characteristics of physical and emotional development which deviates from the norm,

Ability to identify behaviours indicative of abuse and knowledge of the legal and other appropriate professional authorities and referral processes for reporting suspected abuse and neglect.

Interpersonal and communications skills for effective interaction with children, parents, staff and supervisors.

Knowledge of basic techniques required to work with children that have special needs.

Problem solving skills.

Writing skills.

Knowledge of children's nutritional and health needs.

Knowledge of first aid and safety requirements including evacuation procedures.

Awareness of materials and activities appropriate for use with young children.

Responsibilities

General

Supervises children in individual and group settings.

Conducts and monitors activity programs designed for young children.

Provides feedback to parents on the child's progress.

Provides guidance to students in training and/or assistants.

Arranges transition periods.

Program Development, Direction and Assessment

Plans and provides a stimulating and balanced program of active/quiet; indoor/outdoor; free/structured individual and group activities to encourage the physical,social, intellectual and emotional and sensory development at the appropriate level for each child.

Plans and provides daily activities which facilitate an understanding of artistic, cultural and values systems.

Encourages self-help and communications.

Provides experience which teach good health practices; physical, mental, dental and nutritional.

Guides demonstrates and encourages children's activities throughout the day and praises each child's efforts daily by displaying work and providing meaningful commentary.

Provides meaningful learning activities.

Monitors program material needs.

Guidance

Sets realistic behaviour expectations for each child.

Addresses problem behaviour immediately in a positive manner.

Uses positive guidance methods such as positive reinforcement, redirection and positive language.

Health and Safety

Offers immediate care as needed.

Assists or prepares nutritional meals.

Supervises meal time and encourages nutritional eating habits through demonstration and experience.

Administers medication and first aid, changes soiled clothing and diapers, feeds and comforts children.

Conducts regular fire drills.

Reports accidents and injuries immediately and follows through with referrals to appropriate professionals and authorities.

Conducts housekeeping and maintenance chores as necessary to facilitate cleanliness and good safe repair of the childcare environment.

Releases children only to authorized persons.

Administrative/Professionalism

Maintains records relevant to the individual needs of the children.

Maintains a high level of confidentiality.

Attends regular staff meetings and works as a team member.

Follows licencing regulations.

Upgrades education and advances knowledge of new developments in the childcare field.

Maintains appropriate work habits such as punctuality and regular attendance.

Adheres to the goals and objectives of the program.

Effort

Lifts and carries children and objects.

Subjected to high levels of job related stress due to poor working conditions, multiple demands, and inadequate program preparation time.

Risk of contracting contagious or nuisance diseases.

Susceptible to back injuries and muscle strain.

Childcare Assistant

Education

Childcare Assistants will generally have some college training in early childhood education, either partial completion of a ECE diploma course or an assistants certificate course. Assistants could also have some previous experience in working with children or a desire to enter a child education program.

Skills

Graduates of a Teacher's Assistants certificate course will possess skills to assist teachers in daily routines such as, an understanding of;

the methods which facilitate the physical, motor, language, social, emotional and cognitive development of young children,

the role of an assistant teacher in a preschool centre,

the needs and abilities of young children,

ways to facilitate a child's development.

The ability to;

Keep a healthy, stimulating environment,

communicate positively,

follow the province of Ontario's Day Nurseries Act.

Responsibilities

Will be able to assist a teacher in;

assessing children,

planning programs and,

facilitating programs.

Teachers assistant's have a responsibility to adhere to guidelines, program design, health and safety practices and professional ethics under the guidance and supervision of a childcare teacher.

Director

Education

Graduate of ECE, year program and experience in the field.

Skills

Advanced ECE teaching skills

Knowledge of fiscal/financial principles.

Sound administrative and supervisory practices.

Knowledge of public relations and communications procedures.

Experience with program design and implementation.

Strong interactive skills for communication with parents, staff and children.

Knowledge of health and safety procedures and regulatory requirements.

Experience with community and government liaison.

Strong leadership and interpersonal skills.

Ability to work with Board members and follow through with their directives.

Ability to function under the stress of multiple demands, to delegate tasks and address crisis situation diplomatically.

Responsibilities

Supervises and directs the daily operations of the childcare program.

Maintains all financial aspects of program operation, including annual audits and financial statements for the Board of Directors and government agencies.

Practices sound financial planning, including short-term and long-term budgeting.

Ensures administrative tasks are assigned and carried out efficiently, including payroll, hiring, termination, correspondence, inventory, notices and purchases.

Is knowledgeable of relevant agencies and their services and contact people and keeps up-to-date records for referral and consultation purposes.

Trains and educates new staff about the goals and philosophy of the centre, emergency, health and safety procedures and special needs.

Organizes, plans and co-ordinates conferences and/or meetings as necessary to facilitate good staff/parent communications.

Conducts regular evaluation of program effectiveness.

Maintains personnel files and conducts regular staff evaluations.

Plans regular staff meetings.

Implements Board directives.

Assists in the planning of nutritional meals.

Awareness of the politics of childcare

Liaise with advocacy groups, government officials, politicians to ensure high level of quality and expansion of the program to meet parent needs.

Ensures the smooth functioning of the program in a healthy, safe and positive environment appropriate for young children.

Possesses excellent knowledge of the government regulations governing childcare and ensures guidelines are followed and rules and regulations are adhered to and carried out in the centre.

Effort

Requires manual labour lifting children and moving/lifting/carrying toys and equipment in the daily operation of the program.

Endures high levels of job related stress due to multiple demands. (Parents, board, staff, children, government.)

Constant budgeting and juggling of resources due to inadequate revenue base.

High level of staff turnover increases time demands on training new staff.

Exposure to contagious or nuisance diseases.

The responsibilities of a director of a childcare program goes beyond the standard fiscal, administrative and supervisory duties usually associated with directing a program. A director of a child care centre is responsible for management procedures and also acts as a front-line teacher. In recent years it has become increasingly more important to the point of being crucial in

1988, that program directors and staff have an astute insight into the "politics of daycare."

Conversations with childcare workers revealed that all workers get involved in the running of the centre. If a teacher is absent, an aide can assume the duties of a teacher, a cook will sometimes relieve a teacher and a Director will perform teaching duties and help the cook, while staff may assist the Director with administrative duties when needed. It appears that although centre staff are paid higher according to their level of education, jobs interface as is necessary to ensure the smooth functioning of the centre. Staff members interact with the Board of Directors and parents frequently.

Government initiatives in response to public pressure to meet the increasing demand for childcare services taxes the already overburdened workload of a childcare worker. Childcare workers have been inundated with lengthy questionnaires and surveys as researchers and policy drafters attempt to determine the profile of childcare services in Canada and in the individual provinces.

Many in the field feel that the government process is too fragmented and not well directed. Childcare workers endure an exhausting workload, physically, mentally and emotionally; experience high levels of job related stress

earn wages that are near or below the poverty level and suffer poor working conditions. Lengthy surveys aimed at identifying sector characteristics, place increased pressure on the workload of a childcare worker. It would appear, however, that the Ministry of Community and Social Services' Direct Operating Grants data base will serve as a meaningful source of information for policy drafters and researchers at the completion of the Phase II survey sometime in 1989.

3. EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS AND HUMAN RESOURCE POLICIES AND PRACTICES

A recent survey of first year Early Childhood Education students in Ontario conducted by the Childcare Resource and Research Unit. (43) revealed that 87.5% of the students were Canadian born and that for most of the students surveyed (81%), English was the most common language spoken in their home (CRRU) Through conversations with childcare staff, it was learned that recruitment of childcare workers is primarily from the Early Childhood Education college (ECE) programs. The ECE college diploma program is a four semester course of study that teaches methods which facilitate the physical, motor, language, social, emotional and cognitive development of preschool children. Students acquire observation and assessment skills needed to evaluate

a child's developmental process. They study learning theories, curriculum planning, communication skills, philosophies of education and patterns of socialization. (44) Some colleges offer a one year Day Care Assistant's certificate program, designed to give students basic knowledge of the principles of ECE and field placement experience to enable her/him to assist a childcare teacher.

The turnover rate is high in the childcare sector. The Schom-Moffatt research indicated that childcare centre-based workers switch centres often and younger PHDC providers reported that they plan to offer care only until their own children are school age. (45)

With the exception of municipally run and unionized childcare, few childcare operators use formal job evaluations, merit, seniority or incentive compensations. Furthermore, few centre based childcare workers receive employment benefits. (46) PHDC providers are seen as self-employed and are, therefore, not entitled to benefits.

Market forces have had minimal effect on childcare workers salaries. Supply of licenced childcare in Ontario does not meet the demand. Yet, public pressure for government involvement in the provision of universal, accessible,

affordable, quality, non-profit childcare has been effective in eliciting government commitment to an expanded sector. The increasing demand for qualified childcare workers has had little effect on childcare workers wages or benefits to date, other than to ensure job security in a female wage ghetto.

Salaries in the childcare sector are directly tied to budget. A labour intensive sector, childcare worker's salaries constitute 70-90% of budget. (47) The source of revenue in the sector is the sum of parents fees. with childcare fees already out of reach for most middle income earners, the revenue base does not exist for equitable childcare workers salaries and benefits.

Recruitment

In 1988 the Childcare Resource and Research Unit undertook a survey of first year ECE college students in Ontario. Their findings indicated that the majority of students in the programs were Canadian born, English speaking students. More than half of the students surveyed lived at home or with a guardian. (48)

Discussions with childcare workers and others in the field revealed that the sector relies on the ECE program for

workers. Workers are also recruited from other related disciplines and persons with experience in working with young children are also hired.

Attachment to the Labour Force

The Patti Schom-Moffatt study for the Katie Cooke Task Force on Childcare estimated the turnover in childcare centres to be 17%. (49) Her research revealed that childcare workers tended to switch centres often (61% were employed in their centres at the time of the survey for less than a year but were working in the field for more than an year). Nearly half the workers surveyed indicated that childcare work would be their lifetime career. Forty-five percent planned to stay in the field for 10 years or more. Only 10% of the workers surveyed were in the field for less than one year, while 58% were in the field for more than three years. (50)

It appears that childcare workers are committed to their professions and stay in the field despite low wages and poor working conditions. Childcare workers salaries vary significantly from auspice to auspice. It is, therefore, not surprising that a teacher would want to switch centres for better recognition of her work value. The downside to this practice lies in its negative effect on the quality of

a program that has a constant and frequent turnover in staff.

Employees in the Sector

The Task Force research determined the childcare sector in Ontario to be 99% female. The 1988 Childcare Resource and Research Unit survey found approximately 98% of the 726 respondents to be female. The male population represented 15 individuals at 10 different colleges across the province. (51)

One ECE teacher commented that not only are men generally uninterested in careers that traditionally are seen to be women's work, for those who do register few finish the course of study. Societal pressure from family and peers was seen to be the reason more men did not remain in the course. Last year one male in 123 students graduated from the Centennial college ECE program. It is probably safe to assume that children in the formal childcare sector are not receiving positive male role modeling from the programs.

Mobility

The majority of women employed in the childcare sector cite a desire to work with young children as their reason for choosing a childcare occupation. (52) The Hamilton-

Wentworth survey revealed that the respondents were happy with their work. Eighty-four percent reported that they were either somewhat satisfied or very satisfied with their present job. (53) Opportunity for advancement within the work force, however, is limited. An aide can move up to a teachers status only if she/he completes the two year ECE diploma programme or equivalent educational qualifications. A teacher could be promoted to Supervisor or Director status.

Given that a large number of centres employ less than 10 childcare workers and that teachers, most centres are comprised of a cook or teacher/cook, teachers assistants, teachers and a supervisor/director. It is obvious that mobility within the workplace is practically non existent. Other areas for advancement occur outside the childcare centre. For example, as a home visitor with an agency or in a government childcare policy unit.

Training Opportunities

In past studies few childcare workers felt there was any incentive to further professional development training. Childcare workers who did feel a need to further their

education, did so for personal satisfaction or in hopes that more education would increase their chances for employment in related fields with greater financial reward or as a natural next step to becoming a supervisor. Although studies found little incentive for professional development, the Hamilton-Wentworth study found that despite low wages and poor working conditions, childcare workers are involved in improving their educational level. In fact, 83% of supervisors and 57% of teachers had attended conferences or workshops related to knowledge of the childcare field and 45% of workers studied were members of the Association of Early Childhood Educators of Ontario. (54)

Credentialism

The Schom-Moffatt research reported that childcare workers have more education that the average industrial worker. The majority of workers have one to two years of ECE, and one third have education beyond an ECE diploma. (55) The Hamilton-Wentworth study corroborated the Schom-Moffatt research -- 86% of respondents reported some post secondary education and 79% had at least a two year, post secondary diploma. (56)

Earnings

A fully qualified ECE teacher in Ottawa with 10 years experience gained at her present centre, who doubles as a cook, had her salary raised to $25,000 after receiving a direct grant salary supplemer of $3,000 this year.

A housekeeper in a childcare centre wrote to the Pay Equity Commission: "I hope to retain my health so that at 65 when I start to receive old age pension, I can continue to work, my wages plus old age pension equals for the first time in my life, a decent living wage. Only then will I be able to save for retirement." This represents a discouraging future to say the least, yet far more encouraging than the past.

The Patti Schom-Moffatt research found that childcare workers salaries varied from province to province and from urban to rural areas. In general, Schom-Moffatt concluded that in 1983 daycare workers in Ontario earned $13,884 per year; teachers aides earned 30% less than teachers; teachers 30% less than directors; childcare workers in commercial centres earned 30% less than non-profit and 50% less than childcare workers in municipally owned and operated centers; unionized staff earned 30% more than non-unionized staff and workers in larger cities earned 25% more than small cities.

Furthermore, when childcare workers salaries were compared with other occupations the Task Force research revealed that childcare workers wages were 30% less than the average industrial wage, 50% less than an elementary school teacher and 30% less than laborers or animal caregivers. (57)

Preliminary examination of salaries in small to large urban centres reveal that for the most part there has not been a significant change in salary variances from region to region and auspice to auspice. Some local and provincial government initiatives, however, are having a positive impact on salaries. The following is a list of salaries collected during this study.

Childcare Teachers Salaries in a Non-profit Centre

Colleges and Univ., 1988	24,934-26,715
City of Toronto, 1987	19,260
Metro Toronto, 1988	18,767
Ottawa, (Municipal),1986	16,944-22723
Hamilton-Wentworth, (Mun.)	15,961
Compensation Stats, 1988	15,400
Hamilton-Wentworth, 1986	12,121
Ottawa, New Centre, 1986	8,400-10,374

The above salaries are used to give an indication of how salaries vary from region to region the same phenomenon occurs in the commercial centres and in private home day care. Where an average salary in Ontario is required, the compensation average salary of $15,400 will be used.

By using $15,400 as a benchmark salary the Schom-Moffatt findings on salary variances can be applied to reveal some intolerably low salaries in the non-profit, non-unionized sub-sector.

Non-profit, non-unionized

Urban			Rural		
Teacher	**Super**	**Aide**	**Teacher**	**Super**	**Aide**
15,400	20,220	10,780	11,550	15,015	8,085

The average salary for a teacher is $15,400, an aide's salary is 30% less and a supervisor's salary is 30% greater than a teacher's. The same formula applies to a rural childcare workers' salary but the benchmark teacher's salary is 25% less than her urban counterpart.

In the commercial sub-sector the situation worsens.

Commercial-Non-Profit

Teacher	**Super**	**Aide**
10,780	14,010	7,446

In August, 1988 statistics Canada reported the average 1985 employment income of full-time , full year workers in the ten lowest paid occupations in Canada. Women in childcare occupations topped the list of the lowest paid occupations at $8,604 per annum. (Appendix V) Reported salaries indicate that a significant number of childcare workers garner salaries below the poverty line. Given that one third of childcare workers provide for the total family income (59) it would appear that the low level of childcare salaries not only contravenes women's equity and equality rights but also cause many families financial hardship. (Appendix VI)

Explanation of Salaries

The above salaries were collected from a number of sources. All salaries are in urban centres. Questions regarding rural salaries revealed that there is a lack of information in this area but all persons interviewed felt that salaries were substantially lower in rural areas.

The figure for childcare workers salaries in Colleges and Universities represents the September 1988 negotiated salary for all childcare workers in the college labs across the province. Ontario colleges employ 149 full-time employees in 27 programs across the province. The childcare workers

in Ontario colleges are the only childcare workers known to have had their job classifications compared to other occupations of similar value. Although there exists a number of criticisms of the method of evaluation, the weighing of factors and the implementation process, childcare workers salaries in colleges rose by 17% and represent some of the highest paid childcare workers in the province.

The City of Toronto childcare worker's salaries have been raised substantially through the implementation of a direct city grants that have been applied directly to salaries over the past three years. In 1987, the City decided to freeze the second half of the grant allocation until details of the then proposed provincial direct operating grants were made public ($1M). Recently, a decision was made to apply the remainder of the grant to salaries. With both grants being applied to salaries, childcare workers in the City of Toronto non-profit childcare centres should now be earning approximately that of the Colleges and Universities rates. (Appendix VII)

Metro Toronto salaries are those in centres with a purchase of service agreements. (POS) Metro has strict operating criteria that operators must follow before agreements are

granted. Salaries in those centres are comparatively higher, especially in commercial centres where salaries are 85% of those in non-profit centres. (Appendix VIII)

The Ottawa salary figures were taken from the CUPE local 2204 Ottawa-Carleton daycare workers union submission to the consultation panel on the Ontario Green Paper on Pay Equity. The paper recognized that the daycare teachers in Ottawa were amongst the highest paid in the province. A newly established private non-profit salary was also submitted for comparison purposes.

Salaries in the Hamilton-Wentworth area were taken from the Association of Early Childhood Education, Hamilton Branch study on salaries and work experience in the municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, Ontario, 1986. (59)

The Ministry of Community and Social Services computed average salary rates for the Planning and Priorities Board of Cabinet submitted on May 5, 1988. (Appendix 1X)

PHDC

Private home daycare providers are deemed self-employed but are regulated and supervised by Agencies licenced by

the government to recruit caregivers. The Schom-Moffatt research found that, although centre-based workers struggle to raise their profile from a babysitter to an educator or teacher, many caregivers saw themselves as babysitters or substitute mothers. (60) Opportunity for advancement is practically nil. A provider could seek employment in an agency or centre-based program, however the Task Force research revealed that only 7% of PHDC providers had ECE training. The majority of PHDC providers cite motherhood or previous experience in babysitting children as their credentials. A need for extra income and a desire to stay at home with their own children was another common reason for providing care in their homes. (61)

Most providers view their jobs as a temporary one. Younger providers plan to provide care only until their own children are school age. Two thirds offer care less than three years. Only one in five provide the service for more than five years. The Schom-Moffatt research concluded that, nationally, PHDC workers make between $.96 per hour and $7.97 per hour. (62)

In an interview with a director of a large Toronto agency, who also belonged to a PHDC of Toronto collective, it was learned that Metro PHDC operators strive to keep up with the

salaries paid to the Metro PHDC providers. The current per diem is $15.75 per child. This particular agency has a POS agreement with Metro and receives 98% funding through subsidies. Like commercial centres, salaries are kept at or near parity with Metro because of the special agreements.

Wage Setting Policies

The childcare sector in Ontario is a labour intensive service market. Workers salaries comprise 70-90% of an inflexible budget. Regardless of the factors that generally affect wages on the open market, the revenue base of most childcare programs cannot support the real cost of childcare, including salaries.

Fctors that have a positive effect on wages are education, unionization and the auspice a childcare worker is employed in. Salaries for teacher's assistants are less than teachers and supervisors are generally higher than teachers. Unionization is seen as a positive factor affecting wages, yet the level of unionization in the sector is low. Traditionally only the centres with larger revenue bases or those in an establishment that is unionized such as municipal childcare centres and centres in colleges and universities, are unionized.

The auspice a childcare worker is employed in determines salary levels. Non-profit operators reinvest all revenues in the program operating costs. Any available revenue, regardless of how limited, can be applied to salaries. Commercial centres, however, are profit oriented entities. In a labour intensive service industry where employees salaries constitute the largest proportion of salaries, it would appear that the only alternative to profiteering, while maintaining affordable fees is to keep salaries low. Another alternative is to tap the affluent parent market, where incomes could accommodate the high fees necessary to pay staff equitable salaries.

With the exception of workers in municipal childcare programs or college labs, few workers receive employee benefits. Generally, those centres that pay the highest salaries also provide better benefits. Many do not receive health coverage or paid sick leave. Fewer still, receive paid personal days, maternity leave, life insurance, workers compensation or retirement and pension plans. Staff in commercial centres receive approximately two weeks of paid vacation per year, while non-profit centre staff receive two to four weeks paid vacation per annum. (63)

PHDC

Viewed as self-employed service providers, family home caregivers are not salaried employees but rather receive a fee for service based on a per diem rate per child in care from the agency they are affiliated with. The agency collects approximately 25% of the per diem for administrative services and the provider receives the remaining 75%. In Ontario, different agencies provide different services and remuneration. The Patti Schom-Moffatt research did not find any correlation between increased wages and agency affiliation. (64)

PHDC providers receive fewer benefits than centre-based employees. In fact, as self-employed entities they are responsible for paying their own benefits such as UIC, CPP and OHIP. Given the low wages associated with PHDC services it would seem unlikely that this group could participate in life insurance or retirement savings benefit plans. Caregivers receive no paid breaks lunch or vacations. One in ten have a written job description and one in five have written personnel policies. (65)

4. EMPLOYEES

Education

Childcare workers are better educated than the average Canadian worker. Fifty-two percent of labour force participants possess only a high school diploma and 36% have some post secondary education, of the 36%, twelve percent hold a university degree. (66) Comparatively, in Ontario, 86% of childcare workers have more than two years post secondary education. Fifty seven percent have an ECE diploma and 12% have acquired a BA, a B.Sc or a BSW. (67) Furthermore, 77% of the respondents in the Childcare Resources and Research Unit survey had a high school diploma, another 20% had some post secondary education (68)

The CRRU survey found that 92% of students enrolled in the course were between the ages of 17 and 30 with 67% between the age of 17 and 20. (69) The Schom-Moffatt research, on the other hand, found that the majority of childcare workers were between the ages of 20-30 years old with only 5% under 20 or over 50. (70)

With an anticipated increased demand for childcare workers, it is possible that a future survey of the sector could reveal a large cluster of 19-22 year old entry level childcare workers.

In the CRRU survey 97.7% of the 726 respondents were female, 88% were Canadian born and 81% spoke English as a first language. A little more than one half the respondents reported that they lived at home with parents or guardians. A significant number of respondents (20%) reported that they had worked in a licenced program before registering in the ECE course and nearly one half of the students cited a desire to work with young children as their reason for entering the ECE program. (71)

Working Conditions

Poor working conditions exacerbate the physical, emotional and intellectual demands of working in the childcare sector. Childcare workers endure high levels of job related stress associated with multiple demands, inadequate salaries, lack of benefits and low job status.

The Schom-Moffatt research indicated that 66% of childcare workers surveyed reported spending all their time with the

children, while 89% reported working one to five hours of unpaid work per week. (72)

Attachment to the Labour Force

Childcare workers tend to switch centres often.

The expected increase in demand for childcare workers due to provincial initiatives and a federal government commitment to expansion, will probably result in an inability for commercial and some non-profit centres to attract and keep qualified staff.

Workers are committed to their profession despite poor working conditions, inadequate salaries and few opportunities for advancement. It is purely conjecture at this point, but it is quite probable that turnover rates in the childcare sector would be reduced significantly, if salaries and job status deserving the profession were awarded employees in the sector. Enhancing the working conditions of childcare workers would have a positive effect on the quality of the program allowing for a more balanced nurturing of young children.

PHDC

Unlike centre-based childcare workers, PHDC providers have less post secondary education. About one third of providers have not completed high school, while about 40% have a high

school diploma. About 7% have ECE training. Family home caregivers consider motherhood as their credentials for providing care. (73)

Younger caregivers often provide care to working parents so that they can stay home with their own children. Older women provide care either because they want to work and do not have the educational qualifications or skills for most jobs outside the home. Years spent raising their own children is seen as experience they can bring to the job of caregiver. Most providers need the income associated with providing care in their homes.(74)

Women constitute 98% of family home caregivers. (75) Because caregivers generally work alone, (one caregiver per home) nearly all their time is spent with children. The only opportunity for a break comes when the children are asleep.

OPTIONS AND ALTERNATIVES
FOR ADDRESSING PAY EQUITY IN THE
IN THE CHILDCARE SECTOR

Income Comparison

The Ministry of Community and Social Services recently randomly surveyed childcare workers salaries in Ontario and arrived at a $15,400 average salary for front-line workers. (76) Statistics Canada has not yet released 1985 income by occupation data and Labour Canada ceased to publish this type of information in 1985. It was, however possible to obtain some current Metro rates of pay by occupation from other sources.

Because all salaries to be used for income comparison are based on Metro rates, the higher mean salary of $18,737 for an ECE teacher in a non-profit centre with a Metro purchase of service agreement will be used. An additional $3,500, representing the average Direct Operating Grant awarded Metro childcare workers, is factored in to bring the entry level salary up to $21,267 for 1988.

The following scales are presented for income comparison with occupations outside the sector.

CONTINUUM OF INEQUITY

1. Predominantly male, less education/responsibility required than a childcare teacher.

Janitor	CC Teacher	Laborer	Security Guard
$19,292	21,267	22,103	22,750

2. Mixed Gender Similar Education/Responsibility.

Zookeeper	CC Teacher	Elem. Sch. Teach	Nurse	Bell Tel Tech
$20,857	21,267	25,051	26,186	37,128

3. Predominately female occupations mixed level of Education/Responsibility.

CC Teach	Bell Tell Operator	Elem. Sch. Teach.	Nurse
$21,267	23,972	25,051	26,186

4. Predominately Male-Metro Water Works

CC Teach	Qual. Cntrl. Off	Welder	Mach.	Foreman
$21,267	26,753	29,520	30,921	31,722

5. Predominately Male-Province of Ontario

CC Teach	Laborer	Machinist	Painter
$21,267	27,507	27,757	28,803

Source: See Appendix X

Calculations were based on a 35 hour work week, straight time except for the elementary teacher and the nurse where annual salaries only were available.

In similar or lower value categories childcare workers in Metro fare better than janitors and zookeepers. (Zookeepers are required by the Metro Zoo to have at least a college diploma.) In all other categories childcare workers receive lower salaries than their male comparators. Even in the predominantly female occupations childcare teachers are paid significantly less.

Because wages vary from urban to rural and between auspices, it is difficult to determine a provincial average salary. When the Direct Operating Grants data from the Phase II survey is analyzed, it will be possible to establish a benchmark salary and the impact direct grants have had in improving salaries. It is expected that differentials in salaries will remain because the allocation formula did not consider the existing variances in salaries and the possible impact of operators' arbitrary distribution patterns.

Proxy Comparators

Explanation of Points System

A simplified points system was developed for the basis of comparison. General job evaluation assessments were based on conversations with personnel staff at the Metro Works Department and the Human Resources Secretariat, pay equity branch. Pay manuals for the province do not stipulate educational requirements, however skilled tradespersons are generally required to have a college diploma and experience in the field. Unskilled labour classifications do not require post secondary education and minimal skill is required.

The following points weighing is an arbitrary guesstimate based on knowledge of the responsibilities and educational level of a childcare worker and some general knowledge of predominantly male job requirements.

Education		Responsibility	
<High School	= 1	<CC Teacher	= 1 - 1.5
1 Year PS	= 2	=CC Teacher	= 2 - 2.5
2 Years PS	= 3	>CC Teacher	= 3
>2 Years PS	= 4		

Proxy Comparators

Predominately Male Occupations, Province of Ontario

RANGE: $26,500 - $29,000

Significantly lower education/responsibility, yet salaries are much higher.

Occupation	Salary	Points
Childcare teacher, Average Salary	$15,400	5
Childcare teacher with Grant,	21,267	5
Motor Vehicle Operator	23,856	2.5
Chauffeur	24,380	2
Maintenance Machinist	27,507	3
Laborer	26,757	2
Painter/Decorator	28,803	3.5
Maintenance Handyman	25,404	2

Source: Human Resources Secretariat, Ontario Public Service, September, 1988

Proxy Comparators

Predominantly Male Occupations, Metro Works

Range: $26,000 - 32,000

Occupation	Salary	Points
Childcare Teacher (Metro)	$21,267	5
Childcare Teacher (Avg.)	15,400	5
Quality Control Officer	25,753	3.5
Welder	29,520	3.5
Machinist	30,931	3.5
Works Foreman	31,722	5
Laborer	23,441	2
Handyman	24,988	2
General Maintenance	25,989	2.5

Source: Metro Public Works, Personnel Records

Male Jobs in the Sector

Interviews with workers in the field indicated that the sector is primarily female. In private non-profit centre based programs that have a purchase of service agreement with Metro there are housekeeping and caretaking positions where men could be employed. The mean salaries for persons in those positions are less than that of childcare workers.

At the administrative level the mean salaries are higher than front line trained (ECE) teachers. There is a possibility that some men could be found in administration but interviews revealed that it is unlikely that female staff working in administration would be paid at different rates than males doing similar jobs.

Administrative salaries in commercial centres with a Metro POS agreement compare closely with those of non-profit centres. There may, however, be a greater possibility of an increased number of men at the administrative level in commercial centres due to owners listing themselves as administrators. (Information on males in the sector was difficult to ascertain during the course of this study indicating that wage differentials probably do not exist, or if there is such a situation, it is an isolated case and rare).

An interview with the director of Macaulay Child Development Centre revealed that there were three men employed at the administrative level. Of the 35 administrative staff, there was one male supervisor, one male manager with a CGA background and a male bookkeeper; a position that traditionally had been held by a woman. The director indicated that there were no wage differentials between female and male jobs. Men were paid at the same rate as women doing the same jobs.

In the statistics Canada census survey of the 10 lowest paid jobs in Canada, of the 16,745 respondents there were 605 men. The average incomes of men in childcare occupations were $15,912 compared with average incomes for women of $8,604. This would appear to represent a gender bias in female/male pay rates.

None of the persons interviewed appeared to be suspicious of males working in the sector at lower or similar classifications and receiving higher wages than their female counterparts. This sector seems to have established low wage pay rates for all employees, regardless of job description or gender, based on a lesser value assigned to work traditionally performed by women.

It is possible that the Census Canada statistic for males in the sector is high because men only work in the higher paying centres, or in administrative positions that have higher pay

scales. It is also possible that the phrasing of the question(s) was such that it caught men who were working with children, but outside the front-line childcare sector, where salaries may be higher. It is an interesting discovery, however, time lines on this contract did not permit further investigation.

Other Comparators

During the course of this study, some comparable worth evaluations were discovered, a brief discussion on conclusions follows.

Elementary School Teacher as a Comparator

CUPE Local 79 Arbitration

In February, 1987 CUPE local 79 went to arbitration on behalf of all employees in the unit for upward job classification adjustments and retroactive entitlement for all classifications in the bargaining unit (Metro childcare workers). The arbitration was between the Municipality of Metro Toronto (employer); the Metropolitan Licencing Commisssion (Commission) and CUPE local 79 (union).

The union argued that "in substance the work of a daycare worker was of equal value to that of an elementary school teacher" and, thus, the two were comparable.

The employer argued that in substance "it was not appropriate to consider equal value concepts where there were different employers having different compensation philosophies" and, that even if an equal value approach were to be taken, the jobs were not of equal value but rather the job of an elementary school teacher was, in accordance with the accepted principles of comparison, of greater value and, thus, not comparable.

In reviewing the case, the Commission found that the "difference in educational qualifications (for the two jobs) would prevent the two jobs from being matched." The fact that an elementary school teacher has a "responsibility for the evaluation and assessment of the child's achievement to determine that the child is ready to move on to the next level" whereas, "there is no formal curriculum in the context of daycare and no assessment function in determining how the child is doing in learning that curriculum" would be a factor to be considered in determining whether the jobs are appropriately matched.

The Commission concluded that in the comparison of compensable factors they could not find on the evidence a job match between daycare workers and elementary school teachers. "Even if an equal value argument, rather than one based on comparability were considered, the Commission would find the job of a daycare worker of lesser value than that of an elementary school teacher." (75)

Comparative Worth Study for the Manitoba Association of Childcare Workers

The Manitoba Childcare Association commissioned a consultancy firm to conduct a study to establish a fair 1988 entry level wage/salary for childcare workers in the province. The firm reported in 1987, recommending that the wage/salary range for a Childcare Worker II be established at the level of a Class III School Teacher/Clinician, which at entry level in the Greater Winnipeg area was approximately $22,000. (76)

In this study five positions with elements of similarity were chosen to be studied. The comparators were not in the same industry or corporation and, therefore, not within the definition of establishment. The researchers recognized that the methodology placed comparisons at a disadvantage in that the culture of an organization has a bearing on the concept of comparable worth.

Federation of Women Teachers

The federation is in the process of developing a pay equity manual specific to elementary teachers that should be ready by the end of September, 1988.

A conversation with a member of the Federation revealed that an appropriate job description for an elementary teacher does not currently exist. The Federation is beginning the process of developing one. For the purposes of comparison it was felt that the primary differences between a daycare workers' job and an elementary school teachers job exists in the number of children an individual is responsible for supervising; the number of hours required in the job (including after standard hours preparation, evaluation and assessment time) and contact with children.

Ministry of Colleges and Unversities' CAAT Support Staff Evaluation, December 1986

The Ministry of Colleges and Universities have had an equity program in place since June 1, 1986. The system is being criticized by the union and persons responsible for the implementation.

The plan, developed before the pay equity legislation was proclaimed, is a dual classification/core point rating system. Designed to assign comparable jobs to pay band categories the dual system is intended to dove-tail. That is, it should be possible to core point rate any classified position and have it fall within the same pay band of its original classification.

Implementors of the plan, however, are experiencing problems with the duality of the system. Only 10% of the jobs were deemed A-typical, thus, warranting a core point rating. Many males in trades jobs grieved their pay band classification. As a result, all tradesmen in the same pay band as a day care worker negotiated themselves out of the band through core point rating, indicating that the system does not dove-tail.

Through the job evaluation process, childcare workers rated the same remuneration scales as a maintenance handyman; a library technician; technician; reproduction equipment operator; a senior secretary a senior clerk; a support services officer; a technologist; a computer programmer; a stationary engineer; a tradesman and a child adult development councillor (Appendix XIV) Although childcare workers' salaries were increased substantially, (by 17%), criticisms abound.

The union is currently negotiating the contract and it appears that charges of gender bias have been made. Questions arise concerning the factors used in the core point system and the method of evaluation for position classifications.

Although it is not within the scope of this report to analyze job evaluation systems it cannot be ignored. When the factors used to measure value by the colleges are compared with those used by

SUNY and the Manitoba Child Care Association, it would appear that they do not adequately capture the full scope of a childcare workers job. (Appendix XVII)

Staff in the Ministry report a low level of complaint. Twenty-one awards were granted over a two year period. The cost of the program, was 2.76% of payroll or $3.5 million for an equity program that involved 5,600 employees in 22 colleges, having 65 classifications.

Ministry staff felt that overall employees of the college appear to be happy with the results of the equity exercise. The biggest dissent is coming from larger urban centres such as George Brown Colleges.

Manitoba Health Organization

The Manitoba Health Organization is using the SUNY job evaluation model to assess the comparative value of their employees. (77) The model uses a close-ended questionnaire favoured by most in the field because of women's tendency to use weaker verbs when self-reporting their job responsibilities. At writing, policy analysts had not yet determined an appropriate comparator for childcare workers, however, some problems with the job evaluations had been identified.

The self-evaluation process proved problematic for women. Women tended to undervalue their jobs, while men overdescribed their positions. For example, an assistant male cook rated higher on the points system than did a female dietician. There also seemed to be some cultural bias associated with an American model applied to the Canadian experience. The Manitoba Health Organization will be presenting its pay equity plan to the Pay Equity Bureau on September 30, 1988.

GOVERNMENT TRANSFERS

Examination of the childcare sector in Ontario reveals that childcare workers are well educated and committed to a profession that requires a high level of skill and responsibility, yet their salaries are considerably lower than those of men employed in predominantly male sectors. A fundamental challenge to improving childcare salaries lies in the sector's limited revenue base. In order to enhance salaries, operators must raise the revenue base to accommodate salaries that are tied 70% - 90% to budget. The revenue of a childcare operation is the sum of parent fees, whether they receive a government subsidy or are full-fee paying parents. Fee's estimated at approximately $5,000 per child are already too high for most middle income families. Raising fees to pay salaries will only push salaries beyond an affordability

level that will force parents to look elsewhere for care and threaten closure of services.

It is obvious that there can be no pay equity plan for childcare workers without the commitment of funds from other sources. Some initiatives in this are already underway

City of Toronto Direct Grant

The City of Toronto has had a system of direct grants to childcare workers salaries in place since 1985. The aim of the City is to bring childcare workers' salaries within City boundaries at parity with those paid to Metro's municipally run childcare operations. The city grant is applied only to non-profit childcare workers' salaries and lower paying centres receive larger grants than centres paying higher salaries. Since its inception in 1985, City grants have driven childcare workers salaries from $14,171 to an average salary of $19,260 in 1987, slightly above the Metro entry level salary of 18,599. (Appendix VII)

Direct Operating Grants-Province of Ontario

As an element of the Ontario government's New Direction in Child Care plan, the province implemented a Direct Operating Grant plan aimed at improving childcare workers salaries as a first

priority. Sixty-seven million dollars ($67M) has been committed to salaries for the 1988/89 fiscal year.

Although direct transfer payments are considered a viable approach to redressing gender discrimination, there are many concerns regarding the implementation process of the direct operating grants.

In the centre-based programs the age of children in the program and hours per week the service is provided are weighted on a points system. (Appendix XI) The amount of the grant is then determined by applying a fixed dollar amount to the total points.

The maximum allowable grant per childcare worker in a non-profit auspice is $5,500 per worker. Recognizing the role played by commercial operators in providing 36% of all childcare spaces in Ontario, the provincial government is providing 50% salary increases for staff in existing commercial centres to a maximum of $2,750. At the time of the provincial decision, there was not yet a commitment to funding the commercial sub-sector by the federal government. Recently, the Minister of Health and Welfare announced his willingness to fund the commercial sector under the proposed new federal childcare strategy.

Grants have been sent to all licenced centres where the operator determines the amount and method of payment to each childcare worker. An across the board formula serves to sustain the wide variances in childcare workers' salaries from region to region and auspice to auspice.

Commercial Centres

Advocacy groups strongly oppose any public funding to profit-oriented operators. Research indicates that commercial operators generally deliver poor quality programs, pay low wages and provide fewer benefits to staff. It is believed by many that the lack of a broad policy to create a Canadian childcare system together with an incrased demand for care has given rise to the development of a sector that follows a market model. The commodification of childcare provides an incentive for entrepreneurial spirit that will foster the provision of the commodity to satisfy market demand.

It has been shown that there are only two ways to provide extra revenue in the childcare sector; raise fees or cut salaries. When fees are pushed to the point of diminishing returns the only way to make a profit is to cut salaries.

In mounting arguments against public support of commercial operators, Ontario advocates often cite the Alberta experience for comparison. In Alberta 70% of childcare is provided by

commercial operators. Reports of public funds going out in profits, poor quality care and minimum staff wages abound. (Appendix XI)

PHDC

Members of the Private Home Daycare Providers of Ontario are currently meeting with the Minister of COMSOC to reconsider the method of grants distribution to PHDC providers. Agencies argue that the formula used for grants distribution does not adequately reflect the real situation in PHDC operations. For example, the age points weighing is lower than that of centre based children, resulting in less allocation. Yet, PHDC agencies employ home visitors and administrative staff in addition to providers.

Providers contend that the actual impact on per diem is inequitable because grants must be more widely distributed within the agency. Another problem stems from the method of payment. Some agencies are paying providers a bonus, other are factoring an increase into the per diem amount.

An interview with a staff person at Metro Children's services revealed that the direct grant is based on population and not need. Metro carries the burden of this decision because of the crucial need for childcare services in Metro. (4,000 children are on the waiting list).

It was also felt that the direct grant allocation was not enough. It was determined in 1986 that there was a need for funding of $8 a day, but the direct operating grant is only currently providing $3 a day. It appears that current funding is only maintaining the status quo. (80)

One union representative stated that some smaller municipalities are sending the direct grants back because operators feel that childcare workers are paid enough for what they do. It is also rumored that some operators are asking staff to accept the grant as their pay equity plan. Conversations with the Direct Operating Grants staff at the Child Care branch of COMSOC revealed that although there were some returned grants, the numbers were minimal.

Although many agree that the Direct Operating grants approach to raising salaries and eventually lowering fees is a viable and welcomed initiative, many have problems with the implementation process.

Perhaps a positive next step would be to review the process after the direct operating grant data have been analyzed to determine a more specific funding approach, ensuring that operators paying low salaries, due to more limited funding bases, are allocated larger grants. This approach presents problems under the current funding formula, in that, if commercial centres are included in a

specific funding process, the result would be vastly increased public funding of profit motivated operations.

It is, thus, crucial that any attempt to close wage differential gaps across the province exclude the commercial sector. Holding the funding of existing commercial centres constant, while expanding the non-profit sub-sector and bringing all salaries at parity with Metro municipalities, could aid in phasing out the commercial sub-sector by attrition.

An Expanded Definition of "Establishment"

The Pay Equity Act, 1987 does not include 92% of full-time employees in the sector or 93% of full-time and part-time combined. Only employees working in municipally run centres or college labs are part of an establishment where appropriate comparators might be found.

In all other auspices 88% of operators employ less than 10 employees and no appropriate comparators can be found within the establishment for the purposes of the Pay Equity Act. Furthermore, the sum of parent fees comprise a revenue base that, subsequently, cannot support the large payments necessary to bring salaries up to equitable levels.

The reserach has shown that in establishments that are covered by the Act, salaries and benefits are significantly higher, especially with the impact of the direct operating grants.

It is, therefore, necessary to expand the definition of "establishment." If the definition of establishment is expanded to cover purchase of service (POS) agreements that most operators have with municipalities, operators could then be linked to municipalities where appropriate comparators exist. The Purchase of service agreement consists of fee subsidies to low income parents and, thus, constitute part of the funding base of the childcare service operator.

Should this be possible, some childcare workers would still not be covered by the legislation. In 1987 there were 61 commercial centres with 3,219 spaces that did not have a POS arrangement with Metro. There were also 56 non-profit daycare centres with a total of 2,752 spaces who did not have a POS arrangement with Metro and were consequently not required to meet Metro Operating Criteria. (81) (Appendix XV)

Metro maintains that its Operating Criteria requires a high quality of service delivery, including comparable salaries to Metro run childcare services. Comparable data on salaries in Metro Commercial and non-profit centres with a POS agreement confirm this. Commercial childcare salaries in POS centres

are approximately 85% of non-profit salaries. (Appendix VII) Thus, in addition to expanding the definition of the establishment, it would also be necessary to ensure that all municipalities establish operating criteria for purchase of service agreements similar to the Metro model, creating a contract compliance approach to equity.

PHDC

A recent organizing effort by the providers affiliated with the Macaulay Child Development Centre resulted in a precedent setting case. Having secured a first contract, the 130 providers are now deemed employees of the agency. Even though this is a large agency, problems still exist with finding appropriate comparators. The agency is 98% funded by Metro under a POS agreement and, therefore, under an expanded definition of establishment, could be linked back to the municipality. If this were to be the case, all providers could be deemed employees of the municipality and should fare better because of unionization, a more significant revenue base and the existence of comparators. However, the sub-sector view of the relationship between the agency and the provider is divided. Some want to remain independent and self-employed, while others want to become employees of their agency.

Ability to Pay

A broader definition of the establishment incorporating the

childcare sector is sure to create financial hardship for the majority of Ontario's municipalities. Most municipalities in Ontario are small, many employ less than 10 employees, a number do not participate in any aspect of service provision or funding.

The AMO, OMSSA and COMSOC discussion paper on Social Service Review outlined funding options for high quality childcare in Ontario. (Appendix XIII)

It is clear that there can be no pay equity plan in the childcare sector without a commitment to funds applied directly to childcare workers salaries.

The province of Ontario is responsible for policies governing the delivery, funding and expansion of childcare programs. Licencing standards and operational regulations fall under the jurisdiction of the province. The substantial control the province has over the mechanics of the sector would seem to indicate that the provincial government has a responsibility as an employer.

The provincial government is currently involved in new initiatives that are aimed at revamping the social service system to meet the changing needs of society.

A recent report on the social assistance system in Ontario, Transitions; Report of the Social Assistance Review Committee, outlined a number of initiatives that would ease the financial burden and enhance the quality of life of Ontario's working poor and social assistance recipients.

An important recommendation of the Committee requires a provincial directive to establish the conditions for municipal service delivery and to determine a process for assessing a municipalities ability to deliver a new program. The government was further advised to develop methods of service planning with municipalities and an effective system for monitoring municipal deliver. (82) Adoption of this recommendation, should have a positive impact on the childcare sector.

The data gathered for this study indicates that it is crucial that governments work in unison to develop regional policies that are specific to the sub-sectors (centre based and private home day care) and the various auspices (private non-profit, municipal and commercial for-profit) rather than across-the-board policies that serve to sustain salary differentials between auspices and regions and perpetuate the fragmentation of a desperately needed public service.